

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 LONDON 13754 01 OF 03 051720Z

41

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
----- 113214

P R 051707Z SEP 75

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4451

INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY ACCRA

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 13754

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, UK, RH

SUBJECT: GRENNAN ON RHODESIA

1. IN A LENGTHY CONVERSATION WITH EMBASSY OFFICER SEPTEMBER 4, FOREIGN SECRETARY CALLAGHAN'S SPECIAL ADVISER ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, DENIS GRENNAN, GAVE HIS IMPRESSIONS OF THE RECENT VICTORIA FALLS CONFERENCE AND THE PROSPECTS FOR A RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT. GRENNAN RETURNED FROM LUSAKA OVER THE OAST WEEKEND AND BRIEFED THE FOREIGN SECRETARY ON THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN THE RHODESIAN DRAMA. HIS OPINIONS DOUBTLESS REFLECT CURRENT THOUGHTS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA IN THE UPPER REACHES OF THE LABOR GOVERNMENT.

2. VICTORIA FALLS CONFERENCE: GRENNAN SKETCHED A PICTURE OF THE RAIL-COACH CONFERENCE THAT VARIES LITTLE FROM PREVIOUS DESCRIPTIONS BY POSTS AND PRESS. THE ANC PERFORMANCE PROVED FARCICAL WITH MISPLACED POSITION PAPERS,

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 LONDON 13754 01 OF 03 051720Z

BICKERING AMONG THE BLACK DELEGATES, AND CONCESSIONS

GRANTED BEFORE BEING DEMANDED. DISARRAY IN THE ANC CONTINGENT PERMITTED SMITH TO DISPLAY WITH EFFECT HIS CONTEMPT FOR HIS AFRICAN OPPOSITION. CHARACTERISTICALLY, MUZOREWA SPOKE UP INFREQUENTLY AND APPEARED MORE LIKE AN ILL-INFORMED OBSERVER THAN A TOUGH NEGOTIATOR. GRENNAN WAS PARTICULARLY MYSTIFIED THAT THE BISHOP HAD LEFT TO THE END OF THE SESSION THE QUESTION OF IMMUNITY. THE ISSUE IS SO OBVIOUSLY LINKED TO THE PROBLEM OF COMMITTEE SESSIONS WITHIN RHODESIA THAT TO DISCUSS THE QUESTIONS SEPARATELY SEEMED INCONCEIVABLE. GRENNAN IS CONVINCED THAT IF VORSTER HAD REMAINED AT THE FALLS UNTIL THE VERY END OF THE TALKS, HE WOULD HAVE PREVAILED ON SMITH TO ACCEPT THE ANC POSITION ON IMMUNITY. BUT NO LONGER UNDER VORSTER'S EYE, SMITH POUNCED ON THE CHANCE TO BREAK UP THE CONFERENCE. (GRENNAN MENTIONED THAT VORSTER HAD DEPARTED EARLY BECAUSE HE FELT CERTAIN AN INITIAL AGREEMENT WAS AS GOOD AS COMPLETE. IN FACT, GRENNAN SAID, VORSTER SO CLEARLY ANTICIPATED AN ACCORD THAT HE PUT HIS SIGNATURE ON A BLANK PIECE OF PAPER AND LEFT IT WITH KAUNDA).

3. DESPITE THE ULTIMATE FAILURE AT VICTORIA FALLS, GRENNAN HIMSELF DEPARTED LUSAKA WITH A SENSE OF OPTIMISM. HE NOTED THAT VORSTER CAME AWAY FROM VICTORIA FALLS SEEING THE PARTICIPANTS IN A NEW LIGHT. THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER NOW VIEWS THE ANC AS INEPT BUT NOT WICKED, AND FOR THE FIRST TIME, HAS PERCEIVED THE CHARLATAN IN IAN SMITH. MOREOVER, THE LONG-AWAITED MEETING BETWEEN RHODESIAN WHITES AND BLACKS HAD FINALLY TAKEN PLACE, VORSTER AND KAUNDA HAD DRAMATICALLY DEMONSTRATED THEIR COMMITMENTS TO A PEACEFUL SOLUTION IN RHODESIA, AND ONLY A PROCEDURAL POINT STOOD IN THE WAY OF RENEWED AND MORE SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS.

4. THE IMMUNITY ISSUE: GRENNAN SAID THAT THE IMMUNITY ISSUE IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN MOST OBSERVERS CONCEDE. IT IS HARDLY A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE, RHETORIC ASIDE. SMITH SEES IMMUNITY AS A TOOL TO DIVIDE THE ANC, WHICH IS AN EFFECTIVE MANEUVER AS A SHORT-SIGHTED AIM. BUT THE LONGER RUN RESULT OF REFUSING IMMUNITY TO SITHOLE AND CHIKEREMA IS TO GIVE THESE TWO MILITANT FIGURES MORE

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 LONDON 13754 01 OF 03 051720Z

POWER THAN THEY SHOULD BE PERMITTED. COMMITTEE NEGOTIATIONS IN SALISBURY -- WITH SITHOLE AND ASSOCIATES ISOLATED IN LUSAKA -- WOULD NECESSARILY BE A REFERENDUM. EXCLUDING SITHOLE FROM RHODESIA THEREFORE WOULD GIVE HIM A VETO ON ANC NEGOTIATIONS AND A POWER OVER THE DELIBERATIONS WHICH FEW BELIEVE DESIRABLE. IN SALISBURY, SITHOLE WOULD BE A PARTICIPANT; IN LUSAKA, HE WOULD BE AN ADJUDICATOR. GRENNAN BELIEVES THAT IN THE END, VORSTER WITH

HIS NEW PERCEPTION OF AN AMORAL SMITH WILL EXERT THE REQUIRED PRESSURE ON THE RHODESIAN SIDE TO RESOLVE THE IMMUNITY ISSUE.

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 LONDON 13754 02 OF 03 051725Z

42

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
----- 113273

P R 051707Z SEP 75

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4452

INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY ACCRA

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 03 LONDON 13754

EXDIS

5. THE ZIMBABWE LIBERATION COUNCIL: THE CONTROVERSY SURROUNDING THIS WEEK'S FORMATION OF THE ZIMBABWE LIBERATION COUNCIL (ZLC) HAS STUNNED GRENNAN'S EARLIER OPTIMISM. "WE HAD SMITH ON THE HOOK," HE SAID, "AND NOW HE'S OFF." THE IN-FIGHTING AND RECRIMINATIONS WITHIN THE ANC CAN ONLY BOLSTER SMITH'S CONTENTION THAT HE HAS NO SERIOUS BLACK ORGANIZATION WITH WHICH TO DEAL. THE SITHOLE-NKOMO SQUABBLING -- SURE TO BE PLAYED BY THE PRESS -- NOW ALLOWS SMITH TO CONFRONT VORSTER WITH AN I-TOLD-YOU-SO ATTITUDE. THE COUNCIL WAS FORMED, SAYS GRENNAN, SIMPLY BECAUSE SITHOLE DUPED MUZOREWA. HE CONVINCED THE WILLING BISHOP THAT THE ANC REQUIRED A MORE VISIBLE AND VIRULENT

EXTERNAL WING TO ATTRACT INTERNATIONAL SYMPATHY AND SHORE UP THE LIBERATION ARMY. SITHOLE, WITH A RELATIVELY MOD-EST POPULAR BACKING FROM ZIMBABWEANS, CAN NOW BUILD HIS INFLUENCE BY DOMINATING THE MILITARY CAMPS AROUND RHODESIA'S BORDERS. IT IS INSURANCE FOR A LATER SHOW-DOWN.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 LONDON 13754 02 OF 03 051725Z

THE ZLC IS SITHOLE'S POWER PLAY, GRENNAN CONTENTS, BUT HE MAY HAVE STEPPED TOO FAR OUT IN FRONT (SEE SECTION ON KAUNDA, BELOW).

6. BISHOP MUZOREWA: GRENNAN GRIMACES AT HIS OWN DISILLU-SIONMENT WITH MUZOREWA. DESPITE ORCHESTRATION BY CHONA AND PROMPTING BY GRENNAN, THE BISHOP WAS A BOMB IN HIS FIRST MAJOR PERFORMANCE AT VICTORIA FALLS. HIS ROLE MUST NOW BE LESS AND LESS SYMBOLIC IN JOINING TOGETHER THE ELEMENTS OF RHODESIAN LIBERATION AND MORE AND MORE RESPON-SIBLE IN NEGOTIATING WITH A WILLFUL ADVERSARY. BUT MUZOREWA HAS ABDICATED THIS RESPONSIBILITY, SAYS GRENNAN. HE FAILED TO ORGANIZE THE ANC BEFORE CONFRONTING SMITH ON THE RAILWAY BRIDGE. WHEN ONLY LEADERSHIP COULD HAVE OVER-COME THE DISARRAY IN HIS DELEGATION, MUZOREWA SHUNNED THE OPPORTUNITY. WITH TENSIONS RUNNING HIGH INSIDE THE ANC AFTER THE VICTORIA FALLS CONFERENCE, MUZOREWA SET OFF FOR EUROPE AND LEFT ANC MEMBERS TO THEIR INEVITABLE QUERU-LOUSNESS. HE DEPARTED, SAYS GRENNAN, FOR TWO REASONS. FIRST, HE IS FRIGHTENED OF RETURNING TO SALISBURY, BUT DOES NOT WISH TO INCUR WHITE RHODESIAN JIBES THAT HE HAS "DESERTED HIS FLOCK," BOTH PAROCHIAL AND POLITICAL. MORE IMPORTANTLY, HOWEVER, THE BISHOP SIMPLY DOES NOT WANT TO SIT DOWN AND TRY TO WTRK OUT A DETAILED ANC APPROACH TO NEGOTIATIONS TN RHODESIA. SUCH A TASK MEANS CONTROVERSY AMONG HIS COLLEAQUES, WHICH MUZOREWA IS JUST AS HAPPY TO AVOID.

7. THE AFRICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL: GRENNAN SAYS THE ANC HAS NO DEVELOPED POSITION ON ANY OF THE ISSUES THAT MUST BE WORKED OUT BEFORE THE RHODESIAN IMPASSE IS SETTLED. THE ANC, HE SAYS, HAS RELIED ON CLICHES OF "MAJORITY RULE NOW" AND "ONE-MAN-ONE-VOTE," BUT WOULD BE THUNDERSTRUCK IF IT HAD TO PRESENT AN INFORMED POSITION ON LAND TENURE OR ENFRANCHISEMENT. EACH MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL, ESPECIAL-LY NKOMO AND SITHOLE, IS LOOKING OVER HIS SHOULDER TO SEE WHO WILL OUT-LEFT WHOM. ANY PROPOSITION TO COMMIT THE ANC TO A POSITION ON A VITAL ISSUE WILL AUTOMATICALLY BE DENOUNCED BY ONE FACTION OR ANOTHER. A POSITION STATED INVITES THE CONDEMNATION OF A RIVAL, AND SO THE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL CAUTIOUSLY EYE ONE ANOTHER AND ARRIVE AT

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 LONDON 13754 02 OF 03 051725Z

NO CONCRETE PROPOSALS. GRENNAN GUESSED THAT IF THE ANC WERE TOMORROW INVITED TO SIT DOWN AND DISCUSS THE ISSUES OF ZIMBABWEAN INDEPENDENCE, THEY WOULD HAVE LITTLE TO SAY.

8. KENNETH KAUNDA: THE ZAMBIAN PRESIDENT IS UNDER MORE AND MORE PRESSURE TO FIND A RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT. THE ECONOMIC SITUATION WITHIN ZAMBIA IS A GRAVE THREAT TO ITS STABILITY, AND THERE IS NO HOPE OF REOPENING THE LOBITO RAILROAD FOR ZAMBIAN COPPER. EVEN IF THE ANGOLAN FIGHTING STOPPED TODAY, GRENNAN SAID, THE RAILROAD TECHNICIANS HAVE ALL FLED THE COUNTRY. PORTS IN DAR ES SALAAM AND BEIRA ARE ALREADY OVERLOADED AND INADEQUATE, LEAVING THE ROUTE SOUTH THROUGH RHODESIA THE ONLY LOGICAL ALTERNATIVE. (HERE, GRENNAN MENTIONED THAT IF KAUNDA COULD OPEN THE RHODESIAN BORDER IMMEDIATELY, IT WOULD STILL TAKE FOUR TO NINE MONTHS TO ASSEMBLE THE NECESSARY ROLLING STOCK TO HANDLE ZAMBIAN COPPER. IN THE BEST OF CIRCUMSTANCES, THE ZAMBIAN ECONOMY WILL THEREFORE CONTINUE ITS DOWNWARD SLIDE). SO KAUNDA MUST PRESS FOR A RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT. GRENNAN, WHO SERVED AS KAUNDA'S POLITICAL ADVISER FOR FIVE YEARS, SAYS HE WOULD NOT BE SURPRISED TO SEE KAUNDA TAKE OUT HIS FRUSTRATIONS WITH THE INEPTITUDE AND IN-FIGHTING OF THE ANC BY SUDDENLY DETAINING SITHOLE. WITH SITHOLE OUT OF THE WAY, THE NEED FOR A MODERATING

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 LONDON 13754 03 OF 03 051727Z

41

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W

----- 113432

P R 051707Z SEP 75

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4453

INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE

S E C R E T SECTION 03 OF 03 LONDON 13754

EXDIS

MUZOREWA WITHIN THE ANC WOULD EVAPORATE, AND NKOMO WOULD EMERGE AS THE REAL LEADER OF THE ZIMBABWEANS. NKOMO CAN TALK TO THE RHODESIANS. IN FACT, GRENNAN SAID, WHEN THE FOUR PRESIDENTS MEET IN LUSAKA THIS WEEKEND, KAUNDA MAY DESCRIBE SITHOLE AS THE MAJOR STUMBLING BLOCK IN THE RHODESIAN TALKS AND SEEK THE PRESIDENTS' APPROVAL FOR HIS ARREST.

9. IAN SMITH: GRENNAN SAYS SMITH CONTINUES HIS DESPERATE GAMBLE THAT THE WHITE POPULATION IN SOUTH AFRICA WILL NOT PERMIT ITS POLITICAL LEADERSHIP TO FORCE A RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT. BY POINTING TO THE INCREASINGLY FRACTURED ANC AND THE GROWING THREAT OF GUERRILLA WAR IN THE NORTH, SMITH HOPES TO CONVINCE SOUTH AFRICANS THAT RHODESIA IS A VITAL BASTION IN THE CAUSE OF WHITE DOMINATION. BUT, GRENNAN SAYS, SMITH UNDERESTIMATED VORSTER'S COMMITMENT TO A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA AND THE POPULARITY OF HIS DETENTE POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA. GRENNAN SUSPECTS
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 LONDON 13754 03 OF 03 051727Z

THAT SMITH WILL NEVER SERIOUSLY NEGOTIATE A MAJORITY-RULE SETTLEMENT AND THAT HE WILL ULTIMATELY STEP DOWN OR BE MANEUVERED OUT OF OFFICE IN THE FACE OF SOUTH AFRICAN PRESSURE. WHATEVER THE CASE, GRENNAN PREDICTS THAT RHODESIA, IN A TWO-STEPS-FORWARD-ONE-STEP-BACKWARD PROGRESSION, WILL CONTINUE TO LURCH TOWARDS A SETTLEMENT.

10. THE BRITISH ROLE: THE BRITISH WILL FOR THE TIME BEING MAINTAIN THEIR REMOTE POSTURE DURING THESE INITIAL STAGES OF NEGOTIATIONS. THE PARTICIPANTS MOST DIRECTLY AFFECTED BY THE TALKS ARE THE ONES MOST LIKELY TO REACH AN ENDURING SOLUTION. GRENNAN HINTED THAT WHILE PUBLICLY REMOVED FROM THE NEGOTIATIONS, THE BRITISH MAY INCREASINGLY BECOME THE FRIENDLY COUNSELORS OF THE ANC (ZAMBIAN COOPERATION IS STRAINED NOW), PERHAPS EVEN DEVELOPING PRECISE POSITION PAPERS FOR THEIR USE.

11. THE AMERICAN ROLE: GRENNAN BELIEVES THAT THE MOST EFFECTIVE CONTRIBUTION THE UNITED STATES CAN MAKE AT THIS STAGE IS THE REPEAL OF THE BYRD AMENDMENT. AFRICANS WILL SEE REPEAL AS LONG OVERDUE. BUT FOR WHITE RHODESIANS, WHO LIVE IN A LAND OF OZ FAR REMOVED FROM THE REALITIES OF THEIR OWN SITUATION, REPEAL OF THE BYRD AMENDMENT WOULD SHOCK THEIR ISOLATED SELF-SATISFACTION AND UNDERMINE THEIR CONFIDENCE IN SMITH'S VISION OF A WHITE FUTURE. GRENNAN WOULD WELCOME A MAJOR POLICY STATEMENT ON RHODESIA BY THE UNITED STATES, BUT DOES NOT SEE IT AS ESSENTIAL NOW. AT SOME POINT, GRENNAN SAID, CALLAGHAN MAY URGE SUCH AN AMERICAN INTERVENTION ON SECRETARY KISSINGER. FOR THE MOMENT, HOWEVER, THE FOREIGN MINISTER DOES NOT PLAN TO RAISE THE ISSUE IN HIS FORTHCOMING BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

11. GRENNAN WILL BE IN IRVINGTON, VIRGINIA NEXT WEEK FOR THE ARIEL HOUSE-JOHNS HOPKINS PARLIAMENTARY SEMINAR. HE WILL BE HAPPY TO EXPAND ON THE ABOVE WITH DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS.

RICHARDSON

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MEETING AGENDA, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 05 SEP 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: greeneet
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975LONDON13754
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750307-0931
From: LONDON
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750980/aaaacsya.tel
Line Count: 352
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: greeneet
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 24 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <24 JUN 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <06 NOV 2003 by greeneet>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: GRENNAN ON RHODESIA
TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, UK, RH, (GRENNAN, DENIS)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006